20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

West Texas Historical Association Year Book

VOL. XXIX OCTOBER, 1953

CONTENTS

THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD
Ernest Wallace - - - - - - - - - - - - 3

THE PADGITTS AND SADDLE LEATHER
James T. Padgitt - - - - - - - - - - - 33

GENERAL ALBERT J. MYER: THE FATHER OF THE SIGNAL CORPS
Colonel Martin L. Crimmins - - - - - - - 47

COLONEL CHARLES ANDERSON OPPOSED SECESSION IN SAN ANTONIO
Colonel M. L. Crimmins - - - - - - - - 67

MEMOIRS OF HENRY BELDING - - - - - - - - - 79

LOG CABINS OF THE PARKER COUNTY REGION
Fred R. Cotten - - - - - - - - - - - - 96

A BRIEF STORY OF THE RESTORATION OF FORT BELKNAP
Ben G. Oneal - - - - - - - - - - - - - 105

JOURNEY OF THE LEACH WAGON TRAIN ACROSS TEXAS, 1857
Edited By J. W. Williams - - - - - - - - 115

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORT BELKNAP MEETING
John R. Hutto - - - - - - - - - - - - - 178

INDEX - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 183

Published by the
WEST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Abilene, Texas
Price $4.00

[title page]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The
West Texas Historical Association
Year Book

VOL. XXIX OCTOBER, 1953

The publication committee and the editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to the YEAR BOOK.

THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1953) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1948.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

648 657 These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Oklahoma. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (3 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a common tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formaliy proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt, who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

---

2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., E. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO› Comanche NO6

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

---

3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 346.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

---

[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease
[113] money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[127] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 79. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 19; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 345.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for grazing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to improve their farms. They had not yet learned the value of

---

7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 299.
8. Ibid.
9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

---

10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1940 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1940.

11. Superintendent W. S. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 28 pp., memo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise. 427 423 177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

427 423 423 657

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

427 434

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-314.

[113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken 427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians 434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with 465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income. 464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut 465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the 434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

---

13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1948.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1948, pt. II, sec. I, 13.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1948.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. During the depression years the government provided most of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural implements to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 302.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 241 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other [462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as [178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 231 236 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874, but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

---

[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 385. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 98.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

---

20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1877 and 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, 278, and 1878, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, *op. cit.*, 225.
22. Day, *op. cit.*

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23]

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000.

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres.

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25]

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount-

23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1914.
24. Bonnin, *op. cit.*, pp. II, 12-13, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

---

26. Scott R. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $330,800; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, *op. cit.*, ms. II, 88, 18.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

---

29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 14-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1871, 220.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 28-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1876, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 76, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 186.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocational courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1898, 254; 1906, 316.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38]

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year.

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 18, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 353; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 85, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 871 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year [874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 871 657 658 For a few years the government increased annually the subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

---

[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 85.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 604. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.85; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $13.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Com nche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa children have attended public schools. The long range policy of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public schools as the principal educational agency. It was generally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the white population was sparse and generally in poor economic condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

---

44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891
permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been
used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compul-
sory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not com-
pleted until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many
whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public
schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the
Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled
in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the fed-
eral government ruled that the public schools must accept
Indian children on the same basis as white children. By
1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled
in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
87 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The
Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational
training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few
should adopt a program similar to that of the two govern-
ment schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program
on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year
amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Com-
pared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expendi-
ture.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap be-
tween the restricted government schools and the public

---

46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1918; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Bonfils, op. cit., sec. III, 11.
47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO Comanche NO6

schools, they also converted the Indians to Christianity. Religious denominations were slow to send missionaries to the Comanches and the Kiowas. Shortly after his arrival in 1869, Agent Lawrie Tatum made an urgent request for missionaries, but his appeal went unheeded. Battey did some church work aside from his teaching, and the teachers of Riverside School in 1874 began a Sabbath School among the Kiowas.[48] The Reverend John McIntosh, a Baptist minister, began work in 1878 among the Wichita north of the Washita River, and two years later had completed the first church within the consolidated agency jurisdiction. But no Comanches attended any of these services. 797

It was 1881 before the Comanches heard a missionary. The Reverend J. B. Wicks, an Episcopalian, arrived at Fort Sill on June 23 and immediately began preaching to the Comanches. Wicks was accompanied by two missionaries, a Comanche and a Kiowa, who were returning to work among their own people. The two had been sent as prisoners to Florida in 1874, but had been released in 1878 and trained for missionary work. Wicks soon went to the agency headquarters on the Washita where he organized a church and conducted services for about another year, more for the whites, lamented Missionary J. J. Methvin many years later, than for the Indians.[49]

For several years after Wicks abandoned his efforts, there was no active missionary work. The Methodist held a monthly service for a time during 1885, but according to the agent, there were no Christian services for the Indians the next year. The Methodist Church, South, sent J. J. Methvin in 1887 to work with the Indians south of the Washita. Methvin confined his work to the vicinity of the agency.

Missionary activity did not begin on a significant scale until 1889, two decades after Agent Tatum had arrived to initiate the Quaker peace policy in dealing with the Comanches and Kiowas. The government provided the stim-

48. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1874, 222.
49. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1884, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1884, 81; Methvin, op. cit., 24.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, *op. cit.*, 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants. 797 178

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51] 657 743

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52] 657 744 743

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to 657 177 178 [164]

51. Bustin, *op. cit.*, sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The businesslike course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of it than they like. This characteristic of the people is apparent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a commercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleasure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 They are working for a better tomorrow, reminding them-
177 selves as they build that "Wise is the Indian who cherishes his cultural heritage, and wise is he who adopts the best of the white man's, but better yet, is he who is wise enough to do both."[53] Within three-quarters of a century they have passed from the stone age to modern civilization. To some tribes the attempt to make the transition brought extinction; to others it brought a miserable existence on the fringe of civilization. There is no longer an attitude of despair among the Comanches. With the same persistence and determination which characterized their resistance to encroachment on their hunting grounds, they are adjusting themselves to live successfully in the new era. Verily, the Comanches have come a long way on the white man's road.

---

53. "A History of Riverside School" is staged each year by the students of that school. During the performance an actor speaks these words.